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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MARR, PGOV, OREP, KS, KN, UR, US
SUBJECT: CALL BY CODEL HATCH ON THE PRESIDENT OF THE
- REPUBLIC OF KOREA, JANUARY 16, 1986

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: CODEL HATCH HAD A CONGENIAL MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT CHUN DOO HWAN AT THE BLUE HOUSE AT 3:00 P.M.
ON JANUARY 16TH. THE KOREAN PRESIDENT DISCUSSED HIS
VIEW OF NORTH KOREAN STRATEGY DESIGNED TO SPLIT THE U.S.
AND ITS KOREAN ALLY AND TAKE ADVANTAGE OF ANY UNREST
IN THE SOUTH. HE ALSO EXPRESSED HIS WORRY ABOUT RECENT
MORE COOPERATIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATIC
PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND THE USSR WHICH MIGHT LEAD
THE SOVIETS TO SUPPORT PROXY WAR WITH THE AID OF THEIR
NORTH KOREAN ALLY OR SOME JOINT ADVENTURE TOGETHER.
THE KOREAN PRESIDENT ALSO STATED HIS FIRM INTENTION TO
SUSTAIN THE CONSTITUTION HE HAD SWORN TO DEFEND AT HIS
INAUGURATION AND TO PROVIDE THE FIRST PEACEFUL AND
LEGITIMATE TRANSFER OF POWER IN THE HISTORY OF THE
REPUBLIC. MOST OF HIS COMMENTS WERE A REAFFIRMATION
OF THE STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS WHICH HE HAD DELIVERED
TO THE NATION THAT MORNING VIA RADIO AND TV. END SUMMARY.

3. THE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION LED BY SENATOR ORRIN
HATCH AND INCLUDING SENATOR CHIC HECHT AND REPRESENTA-
TIVES ROBERT JOHN LAGOMARSINO, JAMES COURTER, AND
MICHAEL DEWINE MET WITH PRESIDENT CHUN DOO HWAN AT THE
BLUE HOUSE FOR A COURTESY CALL AT 3:00 P.M. ON
JANUARY 16. THE DELEGATION WAS ACCOMPANIED BY
MORTON ABRAMOWITZ, DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF INTELLIGENCE
AND RESEARCH, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, AND AMBASSADOR WALKER
(NOTETAKER). PRESENT ON THE KOREAN SIDE WERE FOREIGN
MINISTER LEE WON KYUNG, SENIOR SECRETARY FOR POLITICAL
AFFAIRS HUH MOON DOH, SENIOR SECRETARY FOR ECONOMIC
AFFAIRS SAKONG IL, AND SENIOR PROTOCOL SECRETARY AND
INTERPRETER "MIKE" KIM.

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4. THE PRESIDENT BEGAN THE INTERVIEW BY RECALLING THAT
SENATOR HATCH HAD COME TO KOREA AT THE TIME OF THE
30TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF OUR MUTUAL DEFENSE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

86 9886043

SCD

PAGE 002

NC 9886043

TOR: 121034Z FEB 86

SEOUL 01493

TREATY--AND ALSO THE TIME OF THE KAL 007 SHOOT-DOWN--AND UNDERSTANDS THE SECURITY ISSUES INVOLVED. HE EXPRESSED HIS THANKS TO THE SENATOR FOR BRINGING A DELEGATION ONCE AGAIN EXPRESSING CONCERN FOR JOINT SECURITY.

5. THE SENATOR RESPONDED THAT HE AND THE DELEGATION CONTINUED TO BE DEEPLY INTERESTED IN SECURITY ON THE PENINSULA. AS A RESULT OF BRIEFINGS THE CODEL HAD HAD, THEY WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THE DPRK FORWARD DEPLOYMENTS, HOW THESE SQUARED WITH SOUTH-NORTH TALKS, THE CURRENT QUEST BY THE NORTH FOR ACCEPTANCE AND RECOGNITION AND ITS DIVERSITY OF APPROACHES. SENATOR HATCH WONDERED HOW THE PRESIDENT FELT ABOUT WHAT THE FUTURE MIGHT BRING.

6. PRESIDENT CHUN RESPONDED THAT THERE IS INDEED REAL CONCERN ABOUT THE STRATEGY ADOPTED BY THE NORTH, PARTICULARLY THE FORWARD DEPLOYMENT OF ITS FORCES, WHICH CONSTITUTES A CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER. THE SOUTH HAS METICULOUSLY TRIED TO PURSUE A POLICY DIALOGUE WITH THE NORTH. THE NORTH'S NEW SOFT LINE, AT THE SAME TIME AS THE THREATENING FORWARD DEPLOYMENT, IS IN PURSUIT OF SEVERAL GOALS. THEIR FIRST OBJECTIVE IS TO TRY TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ITS ROK ALLY. THE AIM IS TO BRING ABOUT DIRECT TALKS WITH THE UNITED STATES BY PYONGYANG AND THE FIRST STEP ALONG THIS PATH WOULD BE THROUGH THE TRILATERAL TALKS WHICH THEY HAVE PROPOSED. SECONDLY, THE DPRK SEEKS TO CREATE AN ENVIRONMENT WHICH WILL BRING ABOUT THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE UNITED STATES FORCES AND THEIR DETERRENT CAPABILITY. THERE ARE UNDOUBTEDLY, SAID CHUN, A NUMBER OF NORTH KOREAN "SLEEPERS" IN THE SOUTH WAITING FOR THAT MOMENT WHEN THERE IS A RELAXATION OF THE DETERMINATION TO RESIST COMMUNISM TO JOIN IN A STRIKE AGAINST THE REPUBLIC. THIRDLY, THE CURRENT PEACE OFFENSIVE IS NECESSARY FOR THE DPRK BECAUSE THEY NEED MONEY AND ASSISTANCE FROM THE WESTERN WORLD. FINALLY, THE PRESIDENT BELIEVES THAT THE NORTH WANTS TO MAKE THE SON OF KIM IL SUNG LOOK GOOD AS THE AUTHOR OF A SEEMINGLY MORE REASONABLE LINE.

7. AGAINST THIS THE PRESIDENT POINTED OUT THAT THE NORTH IS AT THIS MOMENT READY FOR WAR, PARTICULARLY WITH THE USSR NOW CLOSER TO PYONGYANG THAN EVER. HE REMINDED THE CODEL THAT KIM IL SUNG PUTS HIS ULTIMATE TRUST AND FAITH IN VIOLENCE. THE ROK IS DETERMINED TO PUSH FOR DIALOGUE BECAUSE THERE IS NO PEACEFUL

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ALTERNATIVE, BUT HIS GOVERNMENT WILL ALWAYS BE VIGILANT.

8. SENATOR HATCH STATED THAT, REMEMBERING WHAT HAPPENED WITH KAL 007 AND GIVEN CHUN'S INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE, THE ROK PRESIDENT'S VIEWS ARE IMPORTANT. HE INQUIRED ABOUT THE MIG-23S IN NORTH KOREA (CURRENTLY ESTIMATED AT 26) AND WHAT WILL BE THE NORTH KOREAN-USSR RELATIONSHIP IN THE FUTURE.

9. PRESIDENT CHUN RESPONDED THAT THIS IS INDEED A KEY QUESTION WHICH HAS OCCUPIED OUR JOINT ATTENTION SINCE THE EVENTS OF 1983. HE HAS HIMSELF ASKED IT MANY TIMES. "I BELIEVE THE DPRK IS CLOSER TO THE USSR AND NOT TO BEIJING," STATED CHUN. THERE IS NOT MUCH NORTH KOREA CAN GET FROM CHINA, AND NORTH KOREA IS IN A POSITION TO HELP THE SOVIET GLOBAL OUTREACH.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

86 9886043 SCO

PAGE 003
TOR: 121034Z FEB 86NC 9886043
SEOUL 01493

10. HE NOTED THAT ON A WORLDWIDE BASIS THE USSR, NORTH KOREA, AND CUBA HAVE ALWAYS BEEN INVOLVED IN SOME SORT OF SUBVERSIVE PLOTS. THE SOVIETS, HE BELIEVES, WANT TO RETALIATE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES, WHICH HAS BEFRIENDED CHINA. THEY WANT THE UNITED STATES OUT OF NORTHEAST ASIA AND THE WESTERN PACIFIC--THUS THE SERIOUS AUGMENTATION OF THEIR FORCES IN THE REGION. TODAY, THE PRESIDENT OBSERVED, THE COMBINED STRENGTH OF THE UNITED STATES, KOREA, AND JAPAN MAY NOT BE ENOUGH TO COUNTER THE SOVIET MILITARY BUILDUP.

11. CHUN CONTINUED THAT THERE ARE TWO POSSIBLE SCENARIOS, EQUALLY DISTURBING: (A) PROXY WAR ON BEHALF OF THE SOVIET UNION BY NORTH KOREA WITH SOVIET AID, OR (B) A JOINT VENTURE. WE MUST REMEMBER, SAID CHUN, THAT KIM IL SUNG WAS A SOVIET MILITARY OFFICER; HE WAS PICKED BY STALIN.

12. SENATOR HATCH THEN CHANGED THE SUBJECT TO INTERNAL KOREAN POLITICS AND INQUIRED ABOUT 1988, NOTING THAT THE OPPOSITION WANTS DIRECT ELECTIONS AND THE UNITED STATES WAS FOLLOWING DEVELOPMENTS CLOSELY. CHUN RESPONDED THAT HE HAD JUST MADE A SPEECH TO THE NATION THAT MORNING IN WHICH HE EXPRESSED HIS CONVICTIONS ON THIS ISSUE. KOREA, HE REMINDED THE CODEL, HAD BEEN LIBERATED FROM COLONIAL OPPRESSION BY A DEMOCRATIC VICTORY AND HAS EMBRACED DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. "BUT," SAID CHUN, "WE HAVE HAD NO DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS. THUS THE JOB OF MY GOVERNMENT IS TO TRY TO STRENGTHEN THE BASES FOR DEMOCRACY." FOR MORE THAN THIRTY YEARS WE HAVE HAD NO PEACEFUL SUCCESSION AND WE HAVE HAD CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE EIGHT TIMES, HE CONTINUED. THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION WAS APPROVED BY MORE THAN 90 OF THE VOTERS AND IT MUST BE ADHERED TO IF DEMOCRACY IS TO WORK. THE PRESIDENT NOTED THAT HE HAD TAKEN HIS OATH OF OFFICE BY SWEARING TO UPHOLD THE CONSTITUTION AND HE INTENDED TO KEEP IT THAT WAY. "SOME SAY THAT THE CONSTITUTION WORKS FOR ME," HE LAUGHED, "BUT I AM NOT OLD AND NOT SENILE, AS YOU CAN SEE. I AM JUST DETERMINED TO BE THE FIRST PRESIDENT TO HAND OVER THE OFFICE PEACEFULLY. THIS IS A FIRST STEP TO STRENGTHEN DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. A NEW PRESIDENT WILL BE ELECTED IN 1988 AND THE OLYMPICS WILL TAKE PLACE SUCCESSFULLY THAT YEAR. THIS IS NOT A TIME WHEN IT IS FAIR TO ATTACK THE CONSTITUTION. AFTER THE ELECTION AND THE OLYMPICS--IN 1989--IS AMPLE TIME TO CONSIDER WHAT CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION ARE NECESSARY."

13. SENATOR HATCH TOLD PRESIDENT CHUN THAT HE AGREED THAT A PEACEFUL AND LEGAL TRANSFER OF POWER WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT LEGACY FOR THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA.

14. THE PRESIDENT AGAIN EXPRESSED HIS DELIGHT AT BEING ABLE TO RECEIVE THE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION, AND OBVIOUSLY REFLECTING THE CONGENIALITY OF THE MEETING THEN CALLED HIS PHOTOGRAPHER AND HAD INDIVIDUAL PICTURES TAKEN WITH EACH OF THE MEMBERS. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THE PRESIDENT HAS DONE THIS AND COULD HAVE REPRESENTED HIS GROWING APPRECIATION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF "PHOTO OPPORTUNITIES" IN THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PROCESS.

15. THIS REPORT OF THE MEETING HAS NOT BEEN SEEN BY CODEL HATCH AND SHOULD BE PASSED TO SENATOR HATCH AND OTHERS, AS APPROPRIATE.

WALKER

END OF MESSAGE

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